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## British Association for the Advancement of Science.

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*On the North-Western Tribes of Canada.—Ninth Report of the  
Committee, consisting of Dr. E. B. TYLOR, Mr. G. H. BLOXAM,  
Dr. G. M. DAWSON, Mr. R. G. HALIBURTON, and Mr. H. HALE.*

THE Committee were appointed, as in former years, to investigate the physical characters, languages, and industrial and social condition of the North-Western Tribes of the Dominion of Canada.

In consideration of the difficulties and delays in completing their work of Canadian exploration and editing its results the Committee have been reappointed for this year, without a grant of money. They are thus enabled to send in the following report, by Dr. Franz Boas, on the 'Tribes of the Lower Fraser River,' in continuation of his previous communications. This, however, does not exhaust the anthropological information in course of being obtained and put in order by the Committee, who hope to bring their investigations to a close during the present year, and to report finally to the Meeting of the Association in 1895.

*The Indian Tribes of the Lower Fraser River. By Dr. FRANZ BOAS.*

In the sixth report of the Committee I described the customs of the *Lku'ngen*, the most southern group of the Coast Salish living on British territory. The northern neighbours of the *Lku'ngen*, who will be described in the following pages, speak the *K'auëtcin* (Cowichan) language. This dialect of the Coast Salish is spoken on Vancouver Island from Saanitch Inlet to Nonoos, on the islands north of Saanitch Peninsula and on the Lower Fraser River as far as Yale. The language as spoken on Vancouver Island and on the mainland shows slight dialectic differences, the most striking ones being the general substitution of *l* for *n*, and of *ä* for *a*, on Fraser River. I have given elsewhere some notes on the tribes of Cowichan River and of Nanaimo which belong to this group.<sup>1</sup> Therefore I confine myself in the following pages to remarks on the tribes of the mainland, whom I studied in the summer of 1890.

The Cowichan of the mainland are divided into fourteen tribes, each forming a village community. The inhabitants of each village are believed to be the descendants of one mythical personage. I give here a list of tribes, their villages, and the names of the mythical ancestors:—

Tribes.	Villages.	Ancestor.
1. QME'ckoyim.	MÄ'lë, on North Arm of Fraser River.	PÄ'pk'eltel (flag).
2. K'oa'antel.	Steuwä'cel, near South Arm of Fraser River.	Kale'tsemes (badger).
3. K'ë'tsë.	Selts'a's, at head of Pitt Lake, summer village.	Tsata'selten.
	Cuwä'leçet, at lower end of Pitt Lake, winter village.	
4. Mä'çqui.	Mä'mak'ume, above Langley, on left bank.	Sk'elë'yitl (beaver).
	Kökoaë'uk', on Sumass Lake.	
5. Lek'ä'mel.	Lä'qaul, summer village.	Iälep'ä'lem
(Nek'ä'men).	Skuyä'm, winter village.	(sturgeon).
6. Te'ilequë'uk'.	Ts'uwä'lë, Që'les (on upper part of Chillu-wak River).	Të'qulätca.
7. Stsëë'lis.	Stsëë'lis.	Ts'ä'tsemiltq.
8. Sk'au'elitsk.	Sk'au'elitsk, Skuä'tats.	K'ultë'meltq.
9. PELä'tiq.	Tca'tcohil, Tcë'iam.	Qä'latca.
10. PÄ'pk'um.	PÄ'pk'um.	Aiuwä'luq (mountain goat).
11. Siyi'ta.	Squhä'men (Agassiz).	Autltë'n.
12. Ewä'wus.	Sq'elTEN (two miles above Hope).	
13. Ts'akuä'm.	Cilek'ua'tl (Yale), Cuwulsë'lem.	Suwila'siä.
14. Qelä'tl.	Asilä'o.	Që'lqelernas.

The tribes above Skuyä'm are collectively called Të'it = those up river. The tribal traditions tell that Qäls, the deity (see p. 463), met the ancestors of all these tribes and transformed them into certain plants or animals which generally abound near the site of the winter village. For instance, Mä'lë is well known for the great number of flags growing in the slough near the village, mountain-goats are found not far from PÄ'pk'um, and so forth. In many cases the ancestor is said to have been transformed into a rock of remarkable shape or size, which is found not far from the village. Thus Të'qulätca, Qä'latca, and Autltë'n are still shown. I do not understand that the tribe itself claims any relationship with these animals or plants, but nevertheless these ideas must be con-

<sup>1</sup> *American Anthropologist*, 1889, p. 321; 'Zur Ethnologie von Britisch-Columbien. Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1887, No. 5; *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1891, p. 628.

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Ancestor.  
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·a'tsemiltq.

ultë'meltq.

·i'latea.

uwä'luq (mountain  
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telät of	♂ Qü'wulats, Ts'a'tse- miltq; Cpt. George about 50 years.	{ ♂ † ♂ † ♂ † ♀ †
	♂ We'k'a, no issue.	
	♂ Kuä'lëya, no issue.	
	♀ Tehë'mëya married to a qmë'çkoyim.	{ ♂ no issue. ♀ no issue. ♀ no issue. ♀ no issue.
	♀ Tsiqë'melewot mar- ried to a qmë'ç- koyim.	{ ♀ married to Michel of Yale . . . ♂ † ♀ Catherine married at Langley. { ♀ Mary . . . . . ♀ 5 years old. ♀ Marianne married at Langley. { ♂ ♂
	♀ Stë'ts'eluwot mar- ried at Lek'ä'mel.	{ ♂ no issue. ♂ no issue. ♀ married at Sumass . . . { ♂ ♂ ♀
	♀ Mkoä'lat married at Stëë'lis, no issue.	
	♀ Skroë'owü married at Sk'au'ëlits.	{ ♂ ♂ ♀ married to a Kanaka. ♀ married to a white man.
	♀ Koayä'k'ë'ya mar- ried to a white man.	{ ♂ ♀ ♀ ♂
	♀ Siä'minhät married at Yale, no issue.	
Ekuä'tl.	♂ SHä'lëya, no issue.	
	♂ no issue.	
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	♂ no issue.	

Siā'meltset mar-  
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♂ alēquwā'luq marries Qul-  
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♂ Siā'meltset marries Čalē'-  
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♀ Qēē'tčuwot married to Alā'-  
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sons and one daughter.

♀ Tsiqē'melewōt marries Sqtlē'-  
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ten children.

♀ married a Makah.  
♀ married at Lqlin on  
Puget Sound.

♂ Siā'meltset marries  
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lā'tlq, where they  
lived.

♂ Siā'meltset mar-  
ried Tsiqē'mele-  
wot of Stsēē'lis  
and took her to  
Pelā'tlq.

♀ K'olā'hiwot married  
to Tsemē'lem of  
K'ōā'antel.

♂ Talequwā'luq mar-  
ries Sqoayā'lem  
of Stsēē'lis and  
Sk'olā'hiwot of  
K'ōā'laqt.

♀ Kuyičā't married to  
Shilā'wus of Asi-  
lā'o, whose mother  
was a Ntlakyā'pa-  
muq.

♂ Siā'meltset . . . Issue unknown.

♂ Talequwā'luq  
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♂ Siā'meltset mar-  
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♂ SHĀ'lēya marr-  
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♂ Qē'lqēlemas .  
♀ Qēē'tčuwot .

Issue doubtful.

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					[To face p. 454.]
				♂ Qū'wulets, Ts'a'tse- miltq; Cpt. George about 50 years.	{ ♂ † ♂ † ♂ † ♀ †
				♂ We'k'a, no issue.	
				♂ Kuā'lēya, no issue.	
				♀ Tehē'mēya married to a qmē'c̄koyim.	{ ♂ no issue. ♀ no issue. ♀ no issue. ♀ no issue.
				♂ Qū'wulets marries E'yistelāt of Skau'élits.	{ ♀ married to Michel of Yale . . . ♂ † ♀ Catherine married at Langley. { ♂ † ♀ Mary . . . . . ♀ † ♀ Marianne married at Langley. { ♂ 5 years old. ♂
				♀ Tsiqē'melewot mar- ried to a qmē'c̄- koyim.	{ ♂ no issue. ♂ no issue. ♀ married at Sumass. . . { ♂ ♀
				♀ Stē'ts'Eluwot mar- ried at Lek'ā'mel.	
				♀ Mkoā'lat married at Stēē'lis, no issue.	
				♀ Skroē'owū married at Skau'élits.	{ ♂ ♂
				♀ Koayā'k-ē'ya mar- ried to a white man.	{ ♂ married to a Kanaka. ♀ married to a white man. ♀ ♂
				♀ Siā'mihāt married at Yale, no issue.	
				♂ SHĀ'lēya, no issue.	
				♂ Ts'a'tsemiltq marries Cilekuā'tl.	♂ no issue.
				♀ Ts'a'tseluwit married to Qo'it of Stēē'lis.	{ ♂ no issue. ♂ no issue.
				♂ Siā'meltsētmarries SHŌ- lē'ts'ēya of Stēē'lis, with whom he had three children. Then he married Pālek'o'i'tsa of Stēē'lis, with whom ne had one daughter.	Issue doubtful.
				♂ SHĀ'lēya marr. CHĒ'itla of Asilā'o.	Issue doubtful.
				♂ Qē'lqelēmas . . . .	Issue unknown.
				♀ Qēē'tquwot . . . .	Issue unknown.
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sidered as an interesting phase in the development of totemism. Some of the more complicated institutions of this class may have originated from similar concepts.

A few of the tribes have certain privileges not shared by the others. This is particularly the case of the *Sqoā'eqoē*, the curious feathered head with prominent eyes which I have described on a former occasion ('Proc. U.S. National Museum,' 1888, p. 212), and which is the crest of certain families among the *Çatlôltq* (Comox) and *Nanaimo*. This crest belongs originally to several tribes of the mainland. The *Sqoā'eqoē* are believed to be a supernatural people living in lakes. When a person succeeds in bringing one of them to the surface of the water he and his descendants acquire their protection and assume their figure as the crest of their family. It belongs to the *Sk'au'elitsk*, *Ēwā'wus*, and *Ts'akuā'm*. The *Sk'au'elitsk* tell that their ancestor, *K'ultē'meltq*, had two sons and two daughters. The latter went fishing every morning. One day they caught first each a trout. Later on they felt that they had caught something heavy, and on hauling in the line saw the prominent eyes and the long feathers of the *Sqoā'eqoē*. They called their father, who carried him home, but soon the being disappeared and only his dress remained. *K'ultē'meltq*'s descendants married in the *Stseē'lis*, *qmē'ckoyim*, *Snanai'muq*, *Sk'oa'nic*, *K'auētcin*, and *Çatlôltq* tribes, and thus the use of the *Sqoā'eqoē* was disseminated. The *Ēwā'wus* tell that an orphan boy went swimming and diving every day in order to get strong. One day he made a fire near a lake and accidentally spat into the water. When he dived he was almost drowned. At the bottom of the lake he found the *Sqoā'eqoē* trying to heal a sick girl of their people whom the saliva had hit and made sick. The boy washed her and she recovered at once. Then they gave him the *Sqoā'eqoē*. The *Ts'akuā'm* say that their ancestor found the *Sqoā'eqoē*.

In the above list of tribes the *Kuī'kōtlem* of *Teanē'tcen* have been omitted. They are descendants of slaves of *Tlpeik'ē'len*, chief of the *Koā'antel*, who established a fishing station at the site of the *Kuī'kōtlem* village, and ordered part of his slaves to live at this place. Five generations ago, when wars were raging on this part of the coast, they became free, and continue to occupy their old village. They are, however, not considered as equals of the other tribes, and never owned any land. They do not claim to be the descendants of a mythical ancestor. Their present chief is named *T'e'lk'es*.

The tribal traditions of these people are evidently founded on historical events. This becomes particularly clear in the cases of the *Stseē'lis* and of the *Tc'ilequē'uk'*. The tradition of the former says that *Ts'ā'tsemiltq*, the ancestor of the tribe, was sent down to *Stseē'lis* from heaven. One of his descendants built a fish weir on one of the tributaries of Harrison River, and thus deprived another tribe on the upper reaches of the river of its food supply. *K'ulk'e'mehil*, chief of this tribe (who were descendants of the marten and of the mountain-goat), sent his sons down the river to see why the salmon did not come as usual. They found the weir and tried to destroy it, but were captured by *Ts'ā'tsemiltq*'s sons, who invited the tribe to descend from the hills and to live in *Stseē'lis*. They followed the invitation, and ever since have lived with the *Stseē'lis*.

According to tradition the *Tc'ilequē'uk'* spoke, until the beginning of this century, the Nooksak language, which prevails farther to the south. The tribal myth states expressly that the tribe was originally a mountain



tribe living on the upper reaches of Chilluwak River, and that they migrated down the river.

Evidently historical traditions are preserved relatively faithfully by these tribes. This is shown particularly clearly in the care which is taken in preserving the pedigrees of chiefs. I obtained one of these embracing eight generations. I reproduce here that part of the same which I have been able to corroborate by repeated inquiries among different branches of the family. The chief of a tribe always takes the name of the preceding chiefs, sometimes that of the mythical ancestor, which accounts for the recurrence of the same names. When a person has relatives in two villages, he is known by two names. In each village he is called by a name belonging to the village. Thus 'Captain George' is known as Ts'ä'tsemiltq in Stseë'lis, as Qä'wulets in Sk'tsä's, north of Harrison Lake.

TABLE II.

		♂ K'elä'wulets marries Qel-tä'sä'mat, Sälä'sauwot of Lek'ä'mel, daughter of Qel'tsä'm.
	♂ Qä'wulets marries Ckitltä't of Asilä'o.	♀ CHÉ'itla (see Table I.).
		♀ Skutsä'stelät married to Lemle'matses, a Qme'çkoyim.
		♂ K'ä'uwa married at Port Douglas.
	♂ SHÄ'lëya marries Tcelä'qu-wot of Sk'tsä's, daughter of K'ä'uwa.	♂ Ts'ë'k'taqel marries Ts'ä'til of Asilä'o.
♂ Qä'wulets marries Qeë'tsu-wot of Lku'n-gen.		♀ Shälä'pëya married to K'stä-läqen of Lillooet.
		♀ S'ëyi'tla married to Tse'lpeltq of Cowichan.
	♂ Gy'Emet marries Ts'elä'qu-wot, daughter of K'ä'uwa of Sk'tsä's, sister of the above.	
	♂ Që'lqelemas marries Shälä'pëya of Sk'tsä's	
	♂ Ts'etsä'met marries Ts'ä'me-k'eat of Sk'tsä's.	

These pedigrees are also of some interest, as they show the mode of intermarriage among the tribes of these regions, and as they bring out the extermination of whole families very clearly. It appears that the mortality of children is the principal cause of diminution, much more so than decrease in the number of children to each family.

It appears that the tribes of Harrison River intermarry with the Lillooet tribes north of Harrison Lake. These tribes are organised essentially in the same way as those of Fraser River, each village community claiming a common ancestor. Thus the ancestor Qä'wulets of the Sk'tsä's is said to have been a bear, who assumed the human form and built a town; the Pöte'mten claim to be the descendants of a stone hammer and of chips which married two women.

I do not need to describe the houses of these tribes, as they are the same as those of the Lku'ngen. Above Harrison River subterranean lodges like those of the Shushwap were sometimes used, although the large wooden houses were more common. I was told that the chief of Sk'tsä's, north of the upper end of Harrison Lake, owned a house with painted front. A carved pole with the figure of a raven on top stood in front of the house.

The mode of life, fishing, use of canoe and implements do not differ materially from those of the Lku'ügen.

#### CUSTOMS REFERRING TO MARRIAGE AND DEATH.

The marriage customs are almost the same as those of the Lku'ügen. When a young man desires to marry a certain girl he informs his parents. After having gained their consent he goes to the house of the girl's father and sits down outside close to the door. At night he returns home. For three days he continues to sit there silently. Then the girl's father, knowing his intentions, invites many people and has mats and blankets spread near the fire. He sends two old men to invite the young man, who enters the house following this invitation. He is seated on a mat and a pile of blankets is placed near him. His father, who kept a watchman near the house, is informed at once, when the young man is invited to enter the house. He sends four blankets to the two old men who invited his son. The girl's mother meanwhile prepares a large dish filled with choice food, which her husband presents to the young man. The latter eats a little and returns home. Then his father sends presents of blankets and other valuables to the girl's father. This is continued for three or four days, when the girl's father is asked if he is willing to give the girl in marriage to the youth. The consent being given, the groom's father asks all his relatives and followers to assemble on the following morning in order to fetch the bride. They load their canoes with food and blankets and start for the bride's house. Meanwhile her house is cleaned, and after some time the canoes land, the blankets are carried up to the house, and after the purchase of the girl has been settled, the dishes filled with food are carried to the house. The fathers exchange promises of kindly treatment of the couple, in the course of which the groom's father states that he paid a high price for the girl, because he wants to prevent a separation of the couple. Then the visitors return to their canoes. After some time four old men lead the bride to the canoe, holding her by her blanket. Among the tribes entitled to the privilege of using the Sqoã'ëqoë, one of these men wears the Sqoã'ëqoë mask. He follows the girl. Another one carries a rattle. They walk over mats or blankets spread from the door to the landing-place. After they have delivered the bride to the groom, they are paid two blankets each by the groom's father. The latter distributes blankets repeatedly among the bride's relatives, first in her house, later on before leaving, from the canoe, an old man of his family delivering an oration meanwhile. Then blankets are given to the chief of the bride's family, who distributes them. Before the visitors leave, the bride's father presents blankets to the groom's father, who distributes them among his people. When the party arrive at the groom's house, his parents, uncles, and aunts receive the young wife with presents. After the marriage the two families feast each other frequently.

Sometimes chiefs betroth their children in early youth. They bind themselves by exchanging presents. In this case the ceremonies are somewhat simpler. The parents guard their children with particular care. When they are old enough to be married the youth assembles many of his friends and sends word to his bride's parents, stating when he intends to come. At the appointed time he lands and brings many presents, food and blankets, to his bride's father, which the latter distri-

butes among his family. The bride's father presents one blanket and some food to each of his visitors, who depart, taking the bride along. As a rule, the latter follows her husband. When she gets old and sickly she often returns to her own village, in order to be buried with her relatives. Only when some of her children preceded her in death she is buried with them. Although chiefs were in the habit of taking wives in other villages, marriages among families of the same village were not forbidden.

The customs of the Lillooet tribes above Fort Douglas were different. Girls when of age slept with their mothers. When a man intended to marry a girl he crept stealthily up to her bed and tried to take hold of her heel. The meaning of this action is said to be founded on the fact that the heel of the woman is near her private parts when she squats, as Indian women are in the habit of doing. She informs her father at once that a certain man has taken hold of her heel, and he must marry her. She follows the young man to his parents. As soon as they arrive, the groom's mother fills many baskets with boiled food and sends them to the bride's mother, while the male relatives of the youth carry blankets and other presents to the girl's father. They are invited to sit down and given a feast. The bride's father sends the groom bows and arrows and shoes that he may be able to hunt for his wife. The groom's mother gives her dentalia for her hair, earrings, and bracelets. After the young man has killed a number of deer he carries them, helped by his friends, to his wife, and asks her to take them to his father-in-law. She asks several women to help her, and they take the meat to her father's house. The young couple and the parents continue to exchange presents for several years.

I have not learned anything of importance regarding customs referring to birth. The names are given by paternal and maternal relatives, and each family and tribe has its own names. For this reason each person has several names, and is called in each village differently: in his mother's village by the name of the maternal relative after whom he is called; in his father's village by the name of the paternal relative whose name he has received.

The ancient burial customs were described to me as follows:—Each family had its own burial-place, which consisted of a large box or a small house built on piles. This building was erected by members of the family only, and all those who helped to make it received ten blankets in payment from the chief. All the members of a family were placed in this box or house. The first one to die was placed in the north-east (or north-west) corner, the face turned eastward, the body lying on its left side. The next one was placed south of the first, and so on until one row was filled. Then a new row was begun, and the dead ones were all deposited in the same box until it was full. Persons who were very fond of each other were often placed side by side. When the building was full, the bones were taken out, put on new blankets, cleaned, and placed in a new box. Evidently they were piled up in one corner, as there was room for additional burials in the new box. After the bones had been replaced three or four times, they were not taken out again, but a new house was erected. Chiefs and common people were buried in separate houses or boxes.

The burial ceremonies were as follows:—Immediately after a death had occurred, the corpse was prepared for burial by an old man, who had first to chew cedar leaves as a protection against the dangerous influences

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of contact with a corpse. He washed the body, painted it red, put on the bracelets and other ornaments of the deceased, doubled it up, so that the knees touched the chin, and wrapped it in blankets or mats. A young man must not do this work, as he would die soon. When the deceased had been a chief or a personage of importance, all the neighbouring tribes were invited to take part in the following ceremonies. After they had assembled, the wife of the chief mourner gave each water to wash his face. Then the guests were given a feast, and on the following day the corpse was placed in a canoe and removed to the burial-ground, where it was deposited not far from the scaffold which served for the final burial. The guests returned to the house, and were given again water to wash their faces. For four days the body was left standing, that the dead might be able to return in case he should resuscitate. Then, on the fifth day, before sunrise, and before partaking of any food, the mourners and guests returned to the burial-ground. If the deceased owned the *Sqo'êqoë*, the latter was carried there by an old man, who received payment for this service. Slaves, blankets, and other property of the deceased were taken along. Four old men put the body into the house. They must fast until late in the evening, when the chief mourner gave a feast. The slaves were killed and placed on top of the burial-house, where the blankets were also deposited. Other objects were tied to branches of trees near the burial-ground. Only those objects which the deceased valued most highly were placed in the house. It is stated that the people were allowed to take away all those objects which were deposited near the box. In the evening of the same day the chief mourner gave a feast, during which everything was burned that belonged to the deceased. An old man threw the objects into the fire. The guests were presented with blankets, and returned home. If the deceased was a chief, his son fasted and bathed in ponds on the mountains, until he believed that he had seen a spirit which gave him supernatural powers. Then he began to collect property. When he had gathered a large amount, he invited all the neighbouring tribes, and gave a feast which lasted for four days. Then he selected two old men, who had to tell the people that he was going to assume his father's name. The young man, with his wife and children, stood on the scaffold in front of their house, and while the woman and children were dancing there, the old men delivered orations, and the young chief distributed blankets among his guests, throwing the blankets down from the scaffold.

It does not appear that it is forbidden to mention the names of deceased persons.

The burial customs of the Lillooet are somewhat different. I was told that the dead are placed 'so that their backs never turn toward the sun.' They are laid on their left sides, the head westward, the face southward. Old men are hired to paint the face of the deceased, and they deposit the body in a cave as described before. The weapons and implements used by the deceased are buried near the grave, but his friends are said to be permitted to keep some of his implements, provided the son consents.

#### HUNTING AND FISHING.

Man and all animals which are hunted are considered one great family. The porcupine is called the eldest brother, and is considered the strongest. Next in rank is the beaver, third the *ts'etapek' (?)*, fourth

the buffalo, fifth the mountain-goat, sixth the black bear, seventh the elk, eighth the marten, ninth the eagle. The mink is one of the very last among the brothers. Accordingly there are a number of restrictions and regulations referring to hunting.

When a porcupine is killed, the hunter asks his elder brother's pardon, and does not eat of the flesh until the ensuing day.

The mountain-goat hunter fasts and bathes for several nights. Then early in the morning he paints his chin with red paint, and draws a red line over his forehead down to the point of his nose. Two tail feathers of the eagle are fastened to his hair. These ornaments are believed to enable him to climb well.

The elk hunter adorns his hair with coal, red paint, and eagle-down. His chin is painted red, and two red lines are drawn horizontally across his face, one passing between nose and mouth, the other over his eyes.

Those who go to catch sturgeon bathe in a pond early in the morning. They rub themselves with bundles of a plant called *tsk'utlptie* until they bleed. Then they smear their bodies and faces with red paint, and strew white eagle-down on their heads. Each winds a thread made of mountain-goat wool around his head, and another one around his waist. A woven blanket of mountain-goat wool is painted red, and put on. The fish is caught in the following manner:—Two canoes are allowed to drift down river, a net being stretched between them. The oarsmen are seated on the outer sides of the canoes only. The net is stretched between two poles. As soon as a sturgeon is caught, the two canoes approach each other, and the net is wound up by means of the poles. While this is being done the 'sturgeon hunter' sings, and by means of his song pacifies the struggling sturgeon, who allows himself to be killed. The fisherman must distribute the sturgeon among the whole tribe, each person receiving a portion according to his rank. I was told that the *Tc'ilequē'uk'* do not catch sturgeon. This is probably due to their recent immigration to the Fraser River Delta.

The origin of the various designs of ornamentation used by hunters is made clear by the following story, which was told to me by George *Stsē'lis*, chief of that tribe. His grandfather, who was chief at *Sk'tsā's*, accompanied another man on a bear hunt. After two days' search they found the tracks of a black bear, and soon their dog scented the cave in which the bear was asleep. They tried to stir him up by means of long sticks. When he did not come they made a large fire at the entrance of the cave in order to smoke him out. Still he did not come. Then the hunters thought he was dead, and the companion of George's grandfather crawled into the cave. At once the bear took hold of his head and dragged him into the cave. The grandfather, on seeing this, fainted, and remained in a swoon for three days. When he awoke, he saw his companion coming out of the cave. He told him: 'When I was hauled into the cave, the bear took off his bearskin blanket, and I saw that he was a man. He bade me sit down, and told me: Henceforth, when you go to hunt bears, paint the point of your arrow red, and draw a red line along its shaft. Draw a line of mica across your face from one temple to the other across your eyes, and one line of mica over each cheek vertically downward from the eyes.' When the hunters reached home they told their experiences. Henceforth the people followed the instructions of the bear-man, and were successful when hunting bears.

The panther is not hunted by the *Stsē'lis*, because he is supposed to



help the people when hunting deer. In reference to this belief, George Stseē'lis told me that his grandfather and a man named A'm'amaltsen went hunting in their canoes on Harrison Lake. Soon they saw a number of deer crossing the lake. A'm'amaltsen went in pursuit, but George's grandfather stopped on hearing a panther call him. He went ashore, and immediately a panther jumped aboard and asked to be carried across the lake. The man obeyed, and when he had almost reached the other side, the panther jumped ashore, crying Hum! hum! He jumped up the mountain, and soon a great number of deer came down the hills, which the panther had sent. Ever since that time he has helped the Stseē'lis in hunting deer.

These tales are interesting, particularly on account of their close similarity to the traditions of the animal totems of America.

A great number of restrictions and regulations refer to the salmon. These rules are similar to those observed among the other coast tribes. When the fishing season begins, and one of the fishermen catches the first sockeye-salmon of the season, he carries it to the chief of his tribe, who delivers it to his wife. She prays, saying to the salmon: 'Who has sent you here to make us happy? We are thankful to your chief for sending you.' Then she begins to cut it. She commences at the tail, holding the latter with her foot, and cutting along the belly towards the head. After having reached the middle of the fish she must rise, go to the head, hold the latter with her foot, and make another cut from the head along the belly towards the middle of the fish, thus completing the whole cut. She is forbidden to turn the salmon. Then the fish is roasted on a frame placed over the fire. After one side is done, it is turned over. The skin and the bones must not be removed. Then the whole tribe is invited. The plant *pē'pek'oi* and pewter grass are placed in a basket, rubbed, and a decoction is made of these plants, which is used as a medicine 'for cleansing the people.' The guests drink this decoction, and then every member of the tribe receives and eats part of the fish. Widows, widowers, women during their menses, and youths must not eat of the salmon. Even later on, when the fish are numerous, and these ceremonies are dispensed with, they are not allowed to partake of fresh salmon, but eat dried salmon only. The sockeye-salmon must always be looked after carefully. The bones must be thrown into the river. It is believed that then they will revive, and return to their chief in the west. If not treated carefully, they will take revenge, and the careless fisherman will be unlucky.

#### RELIGION.

Man is believed to have four souls. The main soul is said to have the shape of a mannikin, the others are the shadows of the first. In disease either the lesser souls, or the main one, leave the body. Shamans can easily return the shadows, but not the main soul. If the latter leaves the body the sick one must die. After death the main soul goes to the sunset, where it remains. The shadows become ghosts (*pālek'oi'tsa*). They revisit the places which the deceased frequented during lifetime, and continue to do the same actions which he did when alive. Souls are believed to be taken away by the rising sun, which thus produces disease. They may be recovered by shamans. The belief of the identity of the shadow and the lesser soul accounts also for the custom that nobody

must let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, as the latter might take it, and thus replace his own lost soul.

There are two classes of shamans: the witches (Si'ōwa, called Sçō'wa by the Lillooet) and the Squlā'm. The difference between the two has been described in the sixth report of the Committee in the account of the beliefs of the Lku'ngen. The witch can see the wandering soul, but she cannot return it. The Squlā'm acquires his art by fasting and ceremonial cleansing, which consists principally in bathing and vomiting. This is continued until he has a revelation. In his incantations he uses rattling anklets and bracelets around wrists and above elbows, which are made of deer hoofs and bird claws. When it is the object of his incantation to recover a lost soul, he covers himself with a large mat, and begins to dance, stamping energetically, until he is believed to sink into the ground as far as his belly. While the incantation continues, which may be for one or even two days, the sick one must fast. Then the shaman lies motionless while his soul goes in pursuit of that of the patient. When it returns with the lost soul, the shaman begins to move again, and shouts. His cries refer to imaginary incidents of his journey and to dangers of the road. As soon as he begins to move, his wife places a cup of water near him, which she heats by means of hot stones. Then he rises, holding the soul in his clasped hands. He blows on it four times and sprinkles it four times with the warm water. After having warmed it by these means, he puts it on the sick person's head. Then it enters the body through the frontal fontanelle. He presses on it four times and rubs it down the body, which the soul fills entirely. The shaman blows some water on the chest and back of the sick person, who is then allowed to drink, and after some time to eat. The soul may escape while the shaman is trying to put it into the body of the patient. Then he must go once more in pursuit. Sometimes the shaman sees the main soul breaking into several parts. The owner of the broken soul must die.

The sun plays an important part in the beliefs of these tribes. It has been stated that he carries away souls. He is also believed to send dreams and to give the fasting youth revelations. After continued fasting in the solitude of the mountains, the sun revealed to him the supernatural power which was to be his helper. George Stæë'lis told me that his grandfather was instructed by the sun to take a large piece of bone and to carve the design of a mouth on it; this was to protect him in war. When he was wounded the bone sucked the blood from his wounds and vomited it, thus curing him. Once in a battle fought with the Lillooet he was wounded in the abdomen. He escaped on the ice of the lake, dragging his entrails. He replaced them and bandaged himself with cedar-bark. By the help of his bone implement he recovered.

The sun told warriors before the battle if they would be wounded. After having received such a warning they demanded to be buried, with their legs stretched out, as it was believed that the sun might restore them to life. By continued fasting warriors acquired the faculty of jumping high and far, which enabled them to escape the missiles of their enemies. This was considered essentially a supernatural power, and one warrior was said to have jumped as far as eighteen fathoms. Warriors went naked and were forbidden to eat before or during an attack. Their bodies and faces were painted red, and black spots or stripes of various designs were put on their faces. They wore head ornaments of feathers.



On the upper reaches of Fraser River the custom of cutting off the heads of the slain did not prevail, but the victor took the head ornament of his killed enemy. The mode of warfare was the same as everywhere on the coast: unexpected attacks on the villages of the enemies just before the dawn of the day.

Among other mythical personages I mention Qäls, the great transformer, who is often described as the principal deity. I have treated this subject in another place.<sup>1</sup> The country of the sockeye-salmon is in the sunset. Their chief is a powerful being, and takes care that the rules referring to the treatment of salmon are observed. The souls of the killed salmon return to him and are revived.

The East Wind, Cā'tets, lives in the sunrise; his brother, the West Wind, in the sunset. The east wind and the west wind are their shadows (or souls?). When the east wind is blowing a long time, the Indians try to appease it. Early in the morning they take sockeye fat and throw it into the fire. Two pairs of heads of sockeye-salmon are painted red: one pair is thrown into the fire, the other into the water.

Teluwā'met, the Milky Way, is the place where the two parts of the sky meet. It is the road of the dead. Most of the constellations were made by Qäls, who transformed men and transferred them to the sky. The Pleiades, for instance, were children whom Qäls met when they were crying for their absent parents.

I heard only a few remarks referring to the dances of these tribes, which appear to have been similar to those of the Lku'ūgen. The dancing season was called by the Kwakiutl word Mē'itla. It is a very curious fact that the raven was believed to give the dancers or the members of the secret societies their songs, as the raven, who plays an important part in the mythologies of the northern tribes, does not seem to be considered a powerful being by the tribes of Fraser River, excepting in this one connection. One group used to tear dogs. Another one called the Sk'é'yip inflicted wounds upon themselves, drank the blood streaming from these wounds, and after a short time reappeared sound and well. When they were frightened by other dancers they vomited blood. Another group was called the Temeqā'n. Evidently these dances were quite analogous to the festivals of the secret societies of this region.

I add a few current beliefs: The grass over which a widow or a widower steps fades and withers. Before marrying again, the widow or widower must undergo a ceremonial cleansing, as else the second husband or wife will be subject to attacks of the ghost of the deceased.

If one takes a particle of decayed tissue from a corpse and puts it into the mouth of a sleeping person, the latter will 'dry up and die.'

Chiefs' children were carefully brought up. They were instructed in all arts. They were enjoined not to steal, and always to speak the truth. They were not allowed to eat until late in the evening, in order to make them industrious. Young men who returned from a successful hunting expedition were required to distribute their game among the whole tribe. Poor people did not train their children as carefully as chiefs and rich people.

<sup>1</sup> See the sixth report of the Committee; also *Verh. der Ges. für Anthropologie zu Berlin*, 1891, p. 550.

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